1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat-herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static, always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν χουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a church for forty days and then retrieved, is sovereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blunder on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daoutí*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
22 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
22 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

Fig. 73

233 /88/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

231 235

19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them. The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

(492)

[Fig. 75 appears on p. 109--Analyst]

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 233 128 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 232 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:
1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes.
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes.
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

23| Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

23| Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
24| are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
[439] rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock. However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

233 The safety of the livestock

The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
* [231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations
233
484 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
361 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
[462] entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/110 cont./
234 252 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 252 415 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles" or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 252 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table; it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub [251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding. [231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

252 262 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

596 /159 cont./
364 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

/296 cont./

121 789 791 105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

[829] --In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those [823] same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in order to acquire its strength. [825] If a man wears a thing taken from wild animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

[824] --In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[16] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We